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E.OO.11652: GDS TAGS: PFFOR, BR, SA, XF

SUBJECT: BRAZIL AND THE MIDDLE EAST - VISIT OF SAUDI

ARABIAN MINISTER OF STATE SAQQAF

REF: BRASILIA 6821

SUMMARY: THE CONCLUSION OF SAUDI ARABIAN MINISTER OF STATE SAQQAF'S VISIT TO BRAZIL WAS MARKED BY ISSUANCE OF A JOINT COMMUNIQUE, WHICH, IN LINE WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA'S REMARKS REFTEL, REAFFIRMED BRAZILIAN SUPPORT FOR THE ARAB CAUSE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. ALTHOUGH SILVEIRA'S SPEECH WAS WIDELY CRITICIZED BOTH FOR ITS EFFUSIVENESS AND FOR GIVING AWAY BRAZIL'S BARGAINING POSITION IN ADVANCE OF NEGOTIATION, BRAZIL APPEARS TO HAVE GAINED A SOLID FOOTING AMONG THOSE "FRIENDLY NATIONS" CONFIDENTIAL

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WHO WOULD PRESUMABLY BE EXEMPTED FROM ANY FUTURE ARAB OIL

BOYCOTT. THE ISRAELI AMBASSADOR IS CONCERNED THAT SILVEIRA'S STATEMENT, IN THE ABSENCE OF A REFERENCE TO RES. 242, COULD IMPLY BRAZILIAN SUPPORT FOR A RETURN TO ISRAEL'S 1947 BOUNDARIES. SILVEIRA HAS TOLD AMBASSADOR CRIMMINS THAT HE DOES NOT EXCLUDE THAT POSSIBILITY. SILVEIRA'S UNGA SPEECH ON SEPT. 23 WILL PROBABLY TREAT PROMINENTLY OF THE MIDDLE EAST. END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING ARE MAIN POINTS OF JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED SEPT $\, 6 \cdot \,$

A. THE TWO MINISTERS (SAQQAF AND SILVEIRA)...
"NOTE WITH SATISFACTION THE BROAD AGREEMENT WHICH
EXISTS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES IN THEIR EVALUATIONS
OF THE PRINCIPAL PROBLEMS AFFECTING THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY, ON THE POLITICAL LEVEL AS WELL AS THOSE OF
ECONOMICS AND FINANCE.."

B.. ON THE QUESTION OF THE MIDDLE EAST, THE TWO MINISTERS "... RECOGNIZE THE URGENCY OF A DEFINITIVE AND JUST SOLUTION FOR THIS VERY IMPORTATNT PROBLEM WHICH AFFECTS INTERNATIONAL PEACE ANDSECURITY. THEY AGREE THAT THE SOLUTION WILL REQUIRE SPECIAL AND CONTINUING ACTIVITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, INCLUDING IN THE UNITED NATIONS."

C. "THE TWO MINISTER AFFIRM THAT A CONSTRUCTIVE AND EFFECTIVE TREATMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST QUESTION HAS AS ITS FUNDAMENTAL COMPONENTS THE DEOCCUPATION OF ALL TERRITORIES BY FORCE AND RECOGNITION OF THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE." D. THE TWO MINISTERS "... RECOGNIZED THE EXISTENCE OF POSSIBILITIES FOR A FULL AND SOLID RELATIONSHIP IN ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS, CONDUCIVE TO A SOLID AND LASTING FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN SAUDIARABIA AND BRAZIL, WITH THE GOAL OF CREATING A STRUCTURE FOR THIS DEVELOPMENT, THEY DECIDED TO ESTABLISH A MIXED COORDINATING COMMISSION WHICH WILL MEET AT THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL WHENEVERNECESSARY ALTERNATELY IN THE TWO COUNTRIES." THE COMMISSION IS TO MEET WITHIN THREEMONTHS IN SAUDI ARABIA TO TAKE UP THE QUESTIONS OF THE FURNISHING OF BRAZILIAN GOODS AND SERVICES TO CONFIDENTIAL.

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SAUDI ARABIA, SUPPLY OF PETROLEUM TO BRAZIL, CAPITAL INVESTMENTS IN THE TWO COUNTRIES, TECHNOLOGY EXCHANGE, TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, FINANCIAL COOPERATION AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES.

2. THE PRESS AND OTHER SOURCES HAVE BEEN CRITICAL OF SILVEIRA'S STATEMENTS REFTEL -- WHICH ARE REFLECTED IN THE COMMUNIQUE -- AS GOING TOO FAR IN IDENTIFICATION WITH

THE ARAB POSITION AND AS HAVING GIVEN AWAY THE BRAZILIAN POSITION BEFORE REAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SAUDIS ON ECONOMIC QUID PRO QUOS HAD EVEN BEGUN. THE AMBASSADOR FOUND IN HIS CONTACTS WITH WESTERN AMBASSADORS A WIDE-SPREAD BELIEF THAT THE BRAZILIAN POSITION, PARTICULARLY AS EXPRESSED IN SILVEIRA'S SPEECH, WAS EXCESSIVELY PRO-ARAB, IF NOT DOWNRIGHT EMBARRASSING IN ITS EFFUSIVENESS. THE ITALIAN AMBASSADOR STATED THAT THE EGYPTIAN AMBASSADOR HAD CONSIDERED THE POSITION LAID OUT IN SILVEIRA'S SPEECH AS HAVING BEEN EXAGGERATED. THE FOREIGN MINISTER HIMSELF, IN A BRIEF VOLUNTEERED SEPT. 6 CONVERSATION WITH THE AMBASSADOR, APPEARED DEFENSIVE ABOUT PRESS CRITICISM OF HIS REMARKS. IN JUSTIFYING, IN HIS SPEECH, HIS REMARKS ABOUT DEOCCUPATION OF ISRAELI-HELD TERRITORY, HE HAD SAID, " ON OUR OWN CONTINENT, WE COULD NEVER ACCEPT DE FACTO WARLIKE SITUATIONS RESULTING IN OCCUPATION OF AREAS OR DEPENDENCIES (BOLSOES) IN THE SHADOW OF THE NUCLEAR MILITARY BALANCE." HERE, HE TOLD THE AMBASSADOR, HE HAD HAD LATIN AMERICA, IN POTENTIAL, VERY MUCH IN MIND, BOTH AMBASSADOR CRIMMINS AND THE ISRAELI AMBASSADOR WERE STRUCK BY SILVEIRA'S REFERENCE TO "OTHER COUNTRIES" (REFTEL, PARA 2): THE ISRAELI AMBASSADOR WONDERED WHETHER THIS SIGNALLED A BRAZILIAN WILLINGNESS TO PROSELYTIZE THE ARAB CAUSE.

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3. NEEDLESS TO SAY, THE ISRAELI AMBASSADOR IS DISTURBED BY THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE POSITION ANNOUNCED BY SILVEIRA AND HAS TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT THE IMPORTANT BRAZILIAN JEWISH COLONY IS WORRIED. HE SAID THAT HE WAS TRYING TO GET FROM SILVEIRA AN EX-PLANATION OF THE TOTAL ABSENCE OF A REFERENCE TO RESOLUTION 242, WHICH, TAKEN IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE REFERENCE TO DEOCCUPATION OF ALL TERRITORIES TAKEN BY FORCE, COULD SUGGEST THAT SILVEIRA HAD IN MIND A RETURN TO THE ORIGINAL 1947 BOUNDARIES OF ISRAEL, THUS MAKING THE BRAZILIAN POSITION MORE EXTREME THAN THAT OF THE SOVIET UNION. IN A BRIEF COMMENT TO AMBASSADOR CRIMMINS ON SEPT. 15, SILVEIRA REMARKED THAT THE ONLY SECURE BOUNDARIES FOR ISRAEL WOULD BE NEGOTIATED ONES. WHEN THE AMBASSADOR ASKED HIM WHAT BASIC SET OF BOUNDA-RIES HE HAD IN MIND--1947, 1967, OR WHAT--SILVEIRA INDICATED THAT HE DID NOT EXCLUDE A RETURN TO THE CONFIDENTIAL

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ORIGINAL LIMITS.

4. THERE IS, IN DIPLOMATIC AND OTHER CIRCLES IN BRAZIL. CONSIDERABLE SPECULATION ABOUT WHETHER SILVEIRA'S FORMULATIONS IN THE SPEECH AND COMMUNIQUE HAD BEEN SPECIFICALLY CLEARED BY PRESIDENT GEISEL OR WHETHER SILVEIRA HAD BEEN FREE-WHEELING WITHIN BROAD GUIDELINES FROM GEISEL TO BE COOPERATIVE WITH THE ARABS. THE ISRAELI AMBASSADOR TOLD AMBASSADOR CRIMMINS THAT AN IMPORTANT MEMBER OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY HAD RECEIVED A TELEPHONE CALL, A DAY AFTER THE SPEECH BY SILVEIRA, FROM A VERY HIGHLY PLACED PERSON IN THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE WHO REPORTEDLY SAID THAT SILVEIRA'S STATEMENT DID NOT REFLECT THE VIEWS OF PRESIDENT GEISEL. THE ISRAELI AMBASSADOR SAID THAT HE WAS CONFIDENT THAT THE CALL HAD BEEN MADE BUT THAT HE WAS NOT SURE THAT THE MESSAGE HAD BEEN PHRASED AS DESCRIBED. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT. NO MATTER HOW EXUBERANT THE LANGUAGE OF SILVEIRA'S SPEECH WAS, THE COMMUNIQUE REPEATS THE SUBSTANCE OF THE POSITION SET FORTH IN THE SPEECH, AND WE HAVE EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE COMMUNIQUE WAS APPROVED BY GEISEL.

5. IN RESPECT TO THE COMMUNIQUE, THE ISRAELI AMBASSADOR SAID TO AMBASSADOR CRIMMINS THAT HE HAD HEARD A REPORT --UNVERIFIED, HE CAREFULLY CAUTIONED--THAT IN THE FINAL NEGOTIATIONS ON THE COMMUNIQUE THE GOB HAD TRIED TO SOFTEN THE POSITION AS EXPRESSED IN SILVEIRA'S SPEECH BUT SAQQAF HAD BEEN ADAMANT, AND, IN THE END, THE GOB CAVED. (FROM EXTERNAL APPEARANCES, IT DID SEEM THAT THERE HAD BEEN APPRECIABLE DELAY IN THE FINAL DRAFTING OF THE COMMUNIQUE."

6. MOST BRASILIAN SOURCES HAVE EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT THAT BRAZIL'S VERY FORTHCOMING ATTITUDE DID NOT DRAW A LIKE RESPONSE FROM SAQQAF, RESULTING IN IMMEDIATE AND CONCRETE AGREEMENTS OF AN ECONOMIC NATURE. AT THE LEAST, HOWEVER, THE BRAZILIAN POSITION WOULD SEEM TO GUARANTEE ITS INCLUSION AMONG THE "FRIENDLY NATIONS" IN THE CASE OF ANY FUTURE ARAB OIL BOYCOTT. THERE IS CONFIDENTIAL

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ALSO WIDESPREAD BELIEF THAT THE MIDDLE EAST WILL FIGURE PROMINENTLY IN SILVEIRA'S UNGA ADDRESS ON SEPT. 23. IT WILL BE INSTRUCTIVE TO SEE WHETHER SILVEIRA MAKES ANY CHANGES IN HIS FORMULATION OF THE BRAZILIAN POSITION.

7. PLEASE PROTECT ALL SPECIFIC SOURCES IDENTIFIED ABOVE.
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